

THE
ARGUMENT
AGAINST A
Standing Army,
DISCUSS'D.

By a True Lover of his Country.

Medio tutissimus ibis.

LONDON,

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T O T H E
R E A D E R.

HE who Writes Argumentatively, must of course draw a Party against his Opinion. The Writer hereof Prescribes not to any, but only puts in his Mite, in order to maintain, That Liberty and Property are an Englishman's Birthright. And so by consequence you must allow, that he is not for Arbitrary Power; and would be unwilling to furnish one Board to make a Scaffold for such a Building; and what he lays down, proves the Truth of it.

But as he makes out the Happiness of our Constitution, to be the Envy of our Neighbour-Countries; so likewise he agrees, That it is a Limited Mixt Monarchy, and endeavours in all places to keep an even Ballance betwixt the King and the People.

He owns he has seen several Papers upon this Argument; but he is satisfied, his Readers will not think he is a Plagiary: some of those who have

To the Reader.

appeared, seem to have been angry, and others have not toucht upon our Author's Notions.

The Ingenious Author of The Argument against a Standing Army, writes like a Gentleman of Quality and Parts, at least his Stile speaks him so, and he is all along treated as such: and in return, he requests him, that if he reads this ensuing Paper, he will be pleased not to wrest any thing to a wrong sence, because no hardship was intended.

And will only add, that this is the first time he has appeared in Print; and that no Provocation from any Party ever induced him to this Undertaking. He has delivered his Opinion, by endeavouring to set all things in a fair Light, and leaves the Candid Reader to Judge of his Propositions, and so bids him Farewel.

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THAT the Author of the Pamphlet, which is here Examined, may not be prejudiced in the Reading of this Paper, shou'd it come to his Hands, I have thought fit to assure him on the Word of a Gentleman, That Liberty and Property are Glorious and Popular Names, and I hold them Sacred in my Opinion; and therefore I will in all places, treat this Anonymous Author with all the Respect due to a *British* Champion.

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To begin therefore with him, he meets you Cap in hand, with a fine Compliment, 'setting forth the dismal 'Dissolution which has been on the Theatre of the 'World, owing to the Growth and Progress of the *French* 'Power; and draws from thence most admirable Conclusions, which are most certainly true, viz. 'our thrice 'happy Situation, which has freed us from the Insults of 'Foreigners, and made our Neighbour Nation the Scene 'of War, who lying open to the Insults of Enemies, are 'forc'd to be upon their Guard, *Hercules* like, with 'Clubs in their Hands. I agree also, that *Neptune* is our

Page 2.

'Titular God: That we are *Media Insuperabiles undæ*, 'and stand like the Earth, Immovable and Fixt. But in the next Epithet we part: for tho' I agree with an Antient Historian, who says, *That our Wooden Walls are a good Defence*; yet I fear, that the Internal Convulsions, which he says he dreads not, may come to pass, unless some regular Forces (such a Number as our worthy Representatives see fit;) be continued in Pay. And here I must beg my Reader to take along with him my Reasons for the same, which may Bias his Opinion in my Favour.

How long ago is it, That the Disaffected to this Government, boasted of their Numbers, and of having a *Laodicean* Party ready to close upon fair Terms? Pray can you tell, that these Passive Gentlemen (because at present, they vent not their Malice against the Government so publickly as they used,) are better Established in the Notion of the King's Right? Alas! there are too many who look for Promotion on a Change, prompted by Duty (as some call it,) or an Indigency of Fortune, and will chop about like the Wind upon a prosperous Gale. Again, ought not means to be taken, to curb these Prancers, who (as our Authors Title Page has it,) wou'd put a *Frænum in Ore*,
covering

covering over their fly Designs with pitiful Shams that will not pass? but if it shou'd, they soon wou'd find out a Why-not, when the Tables were open, and so carry the Game: And Summoning the two famous Generals, Liberty and Property into the Field, will soon revise Old Stories which have been in Man's Memory; and when we are destitute of Soldiers here, call in a Foreign Aid to back their Pretensions. But of this, more when it falls in order and course; for now I must follow my Author into another Room, (and will not part with him where ever I find him Brave and Loyal.) He says, 'Nature has been liberal to us in our Situation; our Luxuriant Soil is productive of numerous Commodities, fit for Trade and Commerce: that Trade makes us Masters of Silver and Gold, which come without toiling in the Mine for it: that it Breeds us Able Bodied and Skillful Seamen, as much as even Luxury it self can cover. Methinks he has given us good Reasons not to tempt any Ambitious Prince to venture at it: And if we have not a Power, (and that in Regulated Troops, not in his Militia Project, as I shall shew anon) pray what Assurance can we have of Peace and Quiet, longer then Grumblers see fit? Is it to be thought, that any Advantage in the Articles of Peace, will tempt the late King to be at Ease? Is he consulted withal? or did he send any Propositions to the Congress? Is he of a forgiving Temper? Pray put on a good Assurance in your Countenance, and tell me if he be. Is the Pretence of his presumptive Son adjusted, or not? Well, I find Silence grants the Point.

This Point then being over, you are next pleased to put us in Mind, That the King is Mortal; and (to our Grief) we know it. On so sad an Occasion, give me leave to Remark, That by Virtue of an Act of Parlia-

ment, the Crown is likely to descend at his Death, on a Female ; a Princess, who (tho' she has all the Inherent and Noble Virtues of her great Ancestors,) yet may labour with Difficulties, to fix her self Firm, if she has not some Standing Forces of Regular Troops to oppose a sudden Tumult : or shou'd she Die first, a Prince in Minority is like to put in his Claim, who may meet with a Youth about his Age, to oppose him ; the contrary whereof (as all good Subjects heartily wish, may never come to pass :) so we ought to provide against : And what better way can there be, than having such a Power who served in that Capacity before. But now to go on with my Author, he says, ' That we ought to be Free-men, and not Slaves ; and goes here very wide of his Mark : for he tells us, ' An Universal Deluge of Tyranny ' has overspread the Face of the whole Earth. (As for the word Whole, it might have been left out.) 'Tis well some Loyal Passages (interlarded like Bacon with Veal,) do acquit him of a malicious Censure : but as the Captains that were Assembled on *Ahab's* Death, to consult in the Choice of a King, said, (so say I) *I know not the Man, nor his Communication*, so I am a stranger to his Person. I hope, as a Person of Honour said in his Charge, *That he has not Jacob's Voice, and Esau's Hands* : I only use this Expression, because he sometimes (like a Cow). gives a good Mefs of Milk, and afterwards throws it down with his Tail.

But I find I shall be too prolix in this Affair, if I sally too far ; and therefore I will endeavour to be as brief as I can.

To go on therefore with him, I agree, ' That our Constitution is a limited mixt Monarchy : that the King ' enjoys his Prerogatives : (and why then wou'd you make them less than they are ?) I also agree, ' That the
 ' Peo-

‘People claim his Protection: but unless you assign him a bigger Guard, an Army in disguise at *Knightsbridge* will be too hard for him. You own, ‘That he is abridged from the Power of hurting us; and wou’d abridge him of the Pride he takes in defending you. I also go along with you, when you say, ‘That ours is an Empire of Laws; that we have the same Right to our Acquisitions, as he has to his Crown. But here the *Jacobites* will differ from you, and say, That they have a better Right to their Estates, than he has to his Crown. And are there such Men, and must there be no Power to oppose them? I also agree, ‘That our Remedy is good against him in *Westminster-Hall*; and I think the present Judges have sufficiently attoned, for the Crimes and Errors of some of the former. I also avouch, ‘That only Law can put us in Prison. I think also, that the *Romans* were free; or *St. Paul* would never have boasted of being a *Jew*, of *Tarsus* a free City; nor those that whipt him, have repented of the action. Thus far we go hand in hand. But methinks, His Majesty’s many gracious Assurances to his Parliaments, and the Honour he has of being known to keep his Word, might put this Point beyond all manner of Contradiction: and unless our Author had doubted of any Infringement of them he might have spared himself some trouble, and gone on to the purpose.

Now I find what *Aesop* observes of Old to be true, that it is an easy matter to find a Stick to beat a Dog. ‘Now he dreams of Arbitrary Power, but couples it with the ‘Licentiousness of the People, which he says, may incline ‘to Democracy. If our Author keeps a Kennel of Hounds, ’tis much he did not couple them better together.

‘He admires the Prudence of our Ancestors, who made

Pag. 3. 'a middle State of Nobility, to trim the Boat of the
 'Commonwealth, to skreen the People from the Insults
 'of the Prince, and the Prince from the Popularity of
 'the Commons; and gives a good Reason for what he
 'says, *viz.* To prevent the Ruin of either. And pray
 what is all this to the purpose? unless he would craftily
 insinuate, that we were in some manner of Danger at
 present. What he goes on to tell us, is an Answer to
 himself, and spares me the trouble. He says, 'That
 'without the States in Parliament, no Laws can be made,
 'nor a Penny of Money given: that the King summons
 'the Grand Inquest, and the People boldly resent their
 'Grievances! A softer Word might have done as well.
 But now we are all one again, 'He admires so just a
 'Ballance, in making the one not too hard for the
 'other two.

But now I must not set so close to him, we have a little
 Difference, and I must go to the other end of the Table.
 For after he has spread the Cloth, and given us a Bill of
 Fare of very choice and rare Dainties, he begins to Tanta-
 lize us, as if he wou'd not have us eat: for he says, 'The
 'strongest Constitutions are most liable to certain Dis-
 'eases. A shame take it, he had rais'd my Stomach,
 and now I must not have what I expected: for after
 having described our Happiness very pathetically, he
 spoils all, in telling us, 'That the Wheel of this Noble
 'Machin is out of order: I am sorry it was not the
 Wheel of Fortune: for now he doubts our Wisdom,
 Integrity, and Courage. But presently he begins to
 alter his Tune, and from saying, 'That an universal
 'Deluge of Tyranny had overspread the Face of the
 'whole Earth, he says that most Nations in *Europe* are
 'opprest with Tyranny, and at the Will of a Merciless
 'Prince's Fancy or Ambition, or the Insolence of their
 'Offi-

‘Officers. He talks of Nobility, (but names no Country) that are only the Ensigns and Ornaments of Tyranny; and the People are the Beasts of Burden, to support the Luxury and Prodigality of their Master.

Here I protest he has put out the Candle, and left me *Page 4.* in the dark, and I know not which way to turn my self. But hold! I think I hear him again, it is he! What, are you come to own, that we have the Jewel Liberty still left? then there is some Hopes: pray let us mind what he says, for this is the Corner-Stone of the Building; and for the sake of such, who may think there is more Beauty in the Fabrick, than you will find when you enter in, let us see what he has to show, and by the Pattern judge of the Cloth.

He lays it down as a Proposition not to be opposed, That nothing but our Situation, has defended us from the Inconvenience of a Standing Army: (and pray may it not do so still?) Have we lost those Conveniencies, have we a Prince on the Throne that we dare not trust, that Jealousies spring up before there are Occasions? he has certainly a Prospective-Glass, to ken farther than others; or wou’d raise Jealousies, without any Cause of Suspicion. Can the Actions of a Prince, whose Fame resounds so loud in the Territories of distant Monarchies, be rendred Suspicious at home, among such who receive the Benefit of a just Administration? I must then needs deplore the Misfortune of so Great a Man, that he shou’d have Subjects not capable to discern the Blessings which daily shower down so plentifully upon us: and when our Constitution (as he himself observes) is Ballanced by King, Lords and Commons, and that by the mutual Occasions and Necessities each has of the other; why; I say, should we mistrust? It is granted on all Hands, That the Commons have the Right of disposing of our Properties: and can we suppose, that those who have but

but the temporary Post of Three Years, and sent from all Parts of *England*, and above 5000 in number, will give any Money out of their own Estates, as well as ours, to support what is not convenient, or looks destructive to our Ancient Constitution. Admitting then this Point to be reasonable, where is the Inconvenience of a present Standing Force? Let the Commons, when they find an Apprehension of Danger, (of which they are the most proper Judges) but withdraw their Benevolence to the Crown: or let them but give it as the Opinion of that Honourable House, that it is likely to become grievous to the Subject: and then sure no Man will mistrust, that a Prince, who came over on so Generous an Occasion, will Eclipse the future Annals of his Glorious Reign, by refusing to grant their Requests.

This Point then being cleared we will go on to what follows, in which I am certain I can make it plain that the *Militia* project can never take effect, and in this Point I must be very long, because it is his Ladder of Ropes that he mounts by.

I will not (as neer as I can) do my Antagonist wrong: He proposes that the *Militia* (which shou'd be the standing Army) shou'd be composed of such as have the Property. I protest I scarce understand his meaning, but if I do it is this, That the Yeomanry and the Farmers of *England* who by Virtue of Freehold Estates send one, two, three, or four Men to the *Militia*, shou'd be obliged to go in person, 'tis granted that *in propriam personam* he cannot represent this Number, but then he must get more where he can, for go he must and leave his Family to shift for themselves, but here is a harder case yet behind; he who perhaps never Travelled to the nearest Market Town without a Horse must, take large Journeys on foot; nor is this all, it will look odd that a Man who perhaps daily

ly employed three or four Men, must on a small notice leave his Affairs at sixes and sevens : Nay his dear Wife and Children must put Finger in Eye at parting, who promised when they Married to be a mutual help and support to each other, but alas there is no help, they must part. I think before this be put in practice, you shou'd get an Act of Parliament, or find some other way to alter the Marriage Service: I may also reasonably imagine he is knockt o'th' head before he understands his Trade ; the Widows of such People will be wonderful fond of this Government : But these and many other things, he did not consider, am ong the rest perhaps the Wives fortune has much contributed to his Acquisitions, but he (good Man) has his Mouthful of Dirt, and she her Eyes full of Tears.

But from the Foot let us travel to the Horse, and examine how well those that Ride will like their Post. Methinks I hear some muttering as if they did not expect such usage, but they have the property and must go, or find out others which is as hard. These in general have a real kindness for the Government, but is no regard to be had at home ? There is perhaps an Heir in Minority [to succeed too soon, shou'd he be slain in his Countries Cause, or perhaps the Masculine Branch of an Ancient Family is in danger by this rash undertaking to suffer a declension; you see Sir, I have set the Women upon you already but perhaps you are in hopes there may be some that want an occasion to Marry again, I hope such good Wives are not strong enough to bring in the late King : for I really believe, the better sort are greatest in number.

Pardon, Sir, this Digression, and I will sit nearer, that I may hear what you say. You appoint me my Servant, (I thank you Sir, and that's more than he will) for you

propose, that he must be bound to perpetual Service during Life. Now I am come to the Point I drive at. I say then, what Servant will ever venture to take such a Post upon him? and what Obligations can be fixt, to make this Servant, when he likes not his Master, to continue in Service: perhaps you wou'd propose to Bore him in the Ear at seven Years standing, (as the *Jews* did of Old) but I doubt the Promise of a *Rachel* and *Leah* both, will hardly induce these Itinerant sort of Servants to stay. I my self have heard divers of them declare, That a Curiosity to see other Countries in the Kingdom, was the sole Motive; and that little or no Jars have ever happened in their former Service. Therefore I think this Project is like throwing Chaff to cunning Birds, it will not catch them.

Or to go a step higher, do you propose that any cou'd be list'd, the advance upon Wages wou'd be very considerable. And if ever this Projector can bring it about to put such hardships upon Men of Property, I think I am much mistaken, but if he do I will averr that he has a Headpiece fit for a States Service.

I cannot have done, yet I have another Supposal, you will sure allow my Servant the Birthright of an *English* Man. Then as such he must be told, that during Life (if his Limbs fail not) he is to be bound to perpetual Service, so that any thing else will be held a lame Excuse. Had I been with my Author at his Penning this passage, I wou'd have got him (if he had not been in too much haste) to allow a common Soldier this Priviledge, that if by the Death of any particular Friend he had augmented his Fortune to live better, that he might have had power to put another in his Room; and it was the more reasonable to expect it, because on occasion, he is such a Champion for *British* Liberty, but I find he leaves him to compound

pound with his Officers and will have nothing to do with him.

But here also you seem to puzzle the Cause, by making no Provision if his Master and he shou'd fall out, 'tis no matter to me which may be in the wrong, but part they will, farewel says the Master to his Servant let me see who will Hire you, truly if I like the Man I cannot tell where to get him a Service. For who will venture to hire this Servant, who may on a few Days notice be commanded to his former Post? His new Master has no Title to him, and what is still worse, he has no Title to himself: an odd Method to secure Property. The unreasonableness appears farther: he by this means becomes useful to his former Master, and he who Pays him his Wages, has no Benefit at all: Looks this like Freedom and Property? I trow not! These Questions I have proposed to Men of a deep Reach in other Cases, but never yet met with an *Oedipus* to unfold the Riddle.

I am much afraid that those who tell you, you may have Neighbours enough in whom you may trust, have not spent their Time for 20 Years last past in a Country-Life, as I my self have done. And therefore I will tell them, that I have had occasion to make my Observations: and I protest that I am satisfied, 'tis not want of Loyalty in the Country People, that they covet Ease, but a desire to Dye in their own Country Air, which makes them decline such a Service: and tho' they have not many of them read *Claudian*, yet their stiffness herein puts me in mind of the Happiness which he describes, as peculiar to the Man that never went beyond his Parish-Bounds. These are their Sentiments: and so you must look out for other Methods to supply the *Militia*, to have them useful.

One Project is, That out of the Disbanded Forces,

Men may be procured to enter your Service. But let me ask you a plain Question: What Reason have I to venture my Arms in the Hands of a Man you dare not trust? Or what better Security can I have, that one who proffers me his Service, and is a Stranger, will be more for my dear Property, than if he were Listed in a Standing Force. ' And so (to use his own Words) this Constitution must either ruin the Army, or the Army ruin the Constitution; which is offering a violence to Nature.

He goes on to tell us, 'That where-ever the *Militia* is, there is, or will be the Government, in a short time. I will not be so Dogmatical, as to prescribe to my Betters: but if you wou'd procure an Interest to bring in a Bill, to make the *Militia* useful; those who send Men to it wou'd be pleased with the Project, to have the Gentlemen of the Country, without the addition of Inferior Officers, to be appointed by the King. And the Reason for it is plain, which is this, it is commonly a Trust which divers Lieutenants of Counties have, to serve as Representatives in Parliament, either for the County, or some Burrough-Town to which they may be Neighbours. Now it must be granted, That a Gentleman has a greater Regard to the County of his Nativity, than a Stranger can be presumed to have; and those whom they Muster, in order to make useful, will with greater Alacrity undergo the Fatigue of Learning the Military Art; when many of those under whom they serve, had their Votes and their Interest to send them to Parliament. They will then have more Patience to Learn, what a Stranger might by Blows endeavour to Insinuate. So that upon the whole, it appears plain, That those who fear Arbitrary Power, ought to find out Means to put this Project in Practice.

But

But perhaps a Man may object against this Proposition, tho' I might think it fair. He may perhaps say, it gives too much Authority to the People, and may prove detrimental to future Princes, shou'd the Commons not approve of a Prince's Administration. Liberty is a Popular Argument; and they will be apt to say, that we have no Cause to Mistrust, and therefore may banish our Fears. If there be any thing in the Argument, so good an Historian is capable of Answering it.

But alas! you fear a small Number may awe Elections. The next time you Print, furnish your self with better Arguments; or else most People will be apt to conclude, That a small Number of Standing Forces may be convenient in our present Circumstances.

That the Number intended or proposed is to be small, 'tis plain: for Orders are given to Disband divers Regiments already. No notice is taken of the Wounds of such, who suffered on so Publick an Occasion: but it were well, if at the Head of their Regiments, when they are Disbanded, some Speech were made, in Acknowledgement of their former Service; and to tell them, That the Necessity of the Crown did not longer require their Aid. This Custom wou'd not deviate from those Commonwealths, which you admire for their Prudence.

But now having proved my Point, I must endeavour to be Friends with the Inn-keepers, who by this time will begin to Pray for me backwards. Why then Gentlemen I have this to say, That the Number can never oppress you. It is proposed to be but a Few, and your Representatives in Parliament will give but what is necessary. So pray be content, and thank God you are rid of some, and in time I hope your Arrears will be Paid.

And

And now having sufficiently proved, that our Author has started *Chimera's* which enter not into other Peoples Heads; and therein proved, that if he shot at the White, he is far beyond the Mark: I come now to his *Gothick* Ballance, which I think is sufficiently observed by the Laws of *England*; and the Constitution in all Matters so exactly adjusted, that he might have acquiesced in that Confidence: but since he goes on to assert a new Proposition, *viz.* 'That no Nation can preserve its Liberties, which maintains an Army otherwise established: I hope he will give me liberty to make some material Objections to his *Hypothesis*.

Pray what was the Occasion of the 23 Pitcht Battels betwixt the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*? but their confiding too much on the fickle Populace: and we find, that sometimes one House succeeded, and then another: but these many Revolutions were always owing to the want of a sufficient Power at home, to suppress the strength of Foreigners; which made it often end to the Advantage of the Invader. By which we may see, that Military Discipline is an excellent thing; and that the want of Standing Forces, has been the Cause of sundry Revolutions. An *English* Army will always be for Property. Sure that which wou'd make our Enemies dread us abroad, ought not to be a Bugbear to our selves. Let us pause a while; and consider; and then we shall find, that *Richard* the Third, a King of admirable Prowess, wanting Strength at *Bosworth-Field*, proportionable to encounter his invading Antagonist, lost his Life and Crown in the Cause. And a few Years before, *Edward* the Fourth put that pusillanimous Prince King *Henry* the Sixth to the Expence of his Life, for want of an Equality in Power. This is certain, that *York* and *Lancaster* cou'd not be both in the Right; and yet Success favoured both

both their Pretensions: and those frequent Changes are attributed by Historians to the Misfortune of Princes, that wanted a Land-Army in number sufficient to quell such un happy Tumults.

By these Examples (and more I could add, were I not stinted in Time) it plainly appears, That a small Number is for the Security of the Kingdom. And now I shall Methodically follow him.

‘He talks of some Men, who in the late Reigns asserted Liberty so vigorously, that they denied Royal Prerogatives; and so very zealously, that they would scarce allow of the King’s ordinary Guards: but since he names not who they are, we may believe it, or not, as we please. But if such there were, perhaps they sooner pried into the Court-Designs than other Men; and so took care to prevent what might be Destructive by ill Management to the whole Constitution. Here he forgets to make a Distinction betwixt Circumstances that happened at that time, and how the Case is now.

We had then successively two Princes on the Throne that had no pretenders to their Title, and tho’ the last had a *Perkin* started up to give a defiance, yet the Ridiculous Power he brought made him a Scoff among his Friends; but when his present Majesty arrived the Cause he came to maintain was so truly great and Glorious, that the same Prince with the advantage of a much greater power, was not able to oppose him: Does any one desire a reason for it, why it was in brief a National Cause he came to support, our Liberty and Property (most inestimable Jewels) were his attendants, and he had the reward of a just Cause: For that Army which was raised and kept on foot, as many Imagine for our destruction, these very Men turn’d to the Protestant side. From hence then let us draw this Natural Inference, That when

when a King of *England* endeavours to destroy our established Constitution, (the which he is Sworn to maintain) the Army (like true *English* Patriots) will never consent to it. Remember Sir the fate of *Ship money*, and end your fears, for *Englishmen* will never consent to ruine themselves.

Thus I have I think fairly accounted for the great *Phænomenon*, that without Force to back it Tyranny cannot be accomplished; let us be so fair to him (to whom we owe our eternal acknowledgments) as not to mistrust without Cause, and let this also be remarked, that when a Prince in possession has an Antagonist alive who was himself in the Throne, he will not fail to take all the advantage he can of the misrepresentation of Things. Nay he has also one whom he calls his Lawful, Son who may in time grow to be Ambitious: This is enough to prove that it will be to the Nations Honour to have a settled Army, so proportioned as may seem best to the Judgment of our *August* Assembly.

Those who ruined the Blessed Martyr King *Charls* the First, took occasion to clip his Wings by lessening the Military Power, and then did an Act of Barbarity, which I wish had reach'd no further then our Native Country. 'But my Author calls me again, and tells me that the 'Party who have thus veered about say, that if they do 'not comply with this method of a standing Force, another Party will be ready to gratify the Court in this affair. Truly I am sorry any Party shou'd be against so modest a Request, as a few standing Forces, at least let them be established 'till the Projectors Friends can find out a way to make the *Militia* useful to their Country, and not oppressive to the People, let not the Kings Enemies have opportunity to take away his Life, whilst we want a Force to keep the next Successor in the Throne. I am sure then
'twill

'twill be too late to deplore, our Folly or our Oversight.

And I differ again from our Author in this page also, ' where he says that Arbitrary Power is the same in whose hands soever it falls, for hereby he insinuates that all those who value the preservation of his Majesties Life are no better than *Valet de Cambres* to an ill design. I know ' none of them, but I am not so uncharitable, He tells them ' also that the Party they fear will out flatter them, being *Darlings of Arbitrary power, and whose principles and Practices teach them to be Enemies to all Legal Rights*, To this Point such as know his meaning are fittest to answer him, ' because he goes a step higher, for he says they bring the ' *Materials of Tyranny* and are to give place to more expert ' *Architects to finish the Building*: I understand not his Intentions, and so I am silent.

' But now he is in good humour, and tells us we are ' free from any such attempts in this Reign, and gives our Pag. 6. ' Prince Epithets of Praise, which all good Subjects , know how well he deserves.

But streight the Hypochondriac Fit seizes him , and he tells us , ' That the King must Pay a Debt to Nature, ' and he knows not what may follow. Pray Sir, to what purpose has the Parliament taken such care to Point us out a Successor? or , Do you doubt of Common Justice? I think, our *Moses* has brought us within the sight of our Promised Land; then let us not murmur, 'till we have Cause. What made so few go into the Land of Promise with *Caleb* and *Joshua*? Sure it was, Fearing where no Fear was. Let us not report our Enemies to be Giants, but glory that we have a *David* to defend us. Why then shou'd we mistrust a few Regulated Forces. It is not proposed to have the Army as
D big

big as *Xerxes's*, nor so formidable as *Alexander's*, only a competent number: big enough to oblige such Officers with Preferment, whole Bravery in their Countries Defence does justly claim our good Esteem.

Has not *Ireland* more Cause to complain? a Country which tho' for some Years it was the Seat of War, yet has not requested to be Released: the *Irish* keep Forces in their own Country without murmuring; and we who have so precious a King's Life to preserve, wou'd hazard all that is dear to us, to save a little Charges. It reflects much upon us, I mean, such of us as are not Thoughtful.

Pag. 7. Do not impose on us, the Fate of the *Israelites*, *Athenians*, and other your beloved Commonwealths, who tho' they had wise Laws, yet wanted many Advantages that we enjoy. Perhaps he has given us some Reasons for their Decay, it might be, from thinking their *Citizens* understood this Province: One Trade is enough to one Man: and 'tis likely, that if they had not trusted to other Methods, they had met with better Success.

Ibid.

Then he tells us, 'That they Fought, *pro Aris & Focis*; and that their Arms were lodg'd in their own Hands: but the Event did not answer Expectation, for their Discipline cou'd not preserve them.

Ibid.

He farther adds, 'That the *Romans* had good Generals, who were taken from the Plough; and when all was over, returned thither again. This, if the Time wou'd have allow'd, wou'd have look'd like an accomplishment of *Isaiah's* Prophecy, *That they turn'd their Swords into Plough-shares*. But it seems, before they cou'd reduce them again into Swords, they were in danger of being destroyed.

We need not argue the Difference of our Constitutions, but all agree, that our *Cesar* will never pass the forbidden *Rubicon*, to invade our Priviledges: and so let Surmises cease.

But

But he comes presently powring in upon us, and tells us, 'That *Pisistratus* by an Artificial Sham, brought *Athens* into Tyranny; and from the Favour of those that were of his Guards, increased his Number to their Destruction. Let the Beef-Eaters mind that. But it looks as if the Citizens Courage was not great, or the Inhabitants but a few. Pag. 8.

You have sure in your Reading met with King *Lear*, his Story has been so often represented on the Stage, and acted with such Advantage, that 'tis probable most Men of Understanding know his Case; his yielding too fast to the Temper of a designing Party, reduced him at last to such low Circumstances, that his Misery was deplored by his Friends, who cou'd not be capable to remedy the same.

There is an excellent Story written in *Italian*, and from the Original Translated into our Mother-Tongue by a Person of Honour, (now living) and Dedicated to our late Queen: it is called, *The Count De Fiesque's Conspiracy to Destroy the State of Genoa*; and the nearness of its being accomplished, shews us how much we ought to stand upon our Guard.

But my Author has put more Work upon my Hands, he hath some more fine Stories to tell us: he says, 'That *Timophanes* having but 400 Men, with that number overthrew the City of *Corinth*, and made himself King. Ibid. All things, I see, happen not alike at all times: for we find, that *Claudius Lysias*, for the sake of one Man's Life, when he knew of a Conspiracy, sent about that number to Guard him to *Felix*; and this was one of our Noble Romans.

But perhaps you will say, 'This was called an Army, and so it was; and such an Army I suppose you will grant the King, when he thinks it worth asking for.

Ibid.

But yet I cannot tell whether you will or no, when I consider the next Story you tell us: 'For *Agathocles*, from 'being Captain-General of the *Syracusans*, got such an 'Interest in the Army, that he cut the Senators in pieces, 'and the Richest of the People, and made himself their 'King. He had better Fortune than *Dennis* of *Sicily*, or else a late Poet in Verse has done him wrong.

Ibid.

But you have not done yet with your Fears; you say, 'The *Romans*, for fear of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*, who 'threatned their Territories, chose *Marius* to be their 'General; and that he and *Sylla*, insinuating themselves into the Favour of the Army, did much 'Mischief. So that not a Man or Farthing, is to be granted on this Score.

Pag. 11.

You say Sir, 'That the Prolongation of *Cesar's* Commission in *Gallia*, made him able to seise on *Rome* it self; 'and also, that he was able to take upon him the Office of 'Perpetual Dictator. Those things therefore which were acted so many Centuries ago, must be a Bar to future Pretences. Had you been as fair as you ought to be, you might have told us, what such of our *English* Kings who aim'd at Arbitrary Power, got by the Bargain. But you are full of your Stories, and say, 'That *Olivarotto di Fermo* having leave of his Fellow-Citizens to enter the 'Town with 100 Horse, he put all the principal Citizens to 'the Sword, and proclaimed himself their Prince.

You add, 'That *Francis Sforza* made himself, from 'General of the *Milanese*, their Duke; and you make ours a Duke of *Venice*.

But now Sir you come to a more Modern Story, of 'Christiern the Second, King of *Denmark*, who was also 'King of *Sweden*; and tells us of his Treachery: and I think he paid dear enough for his Treachery; for he *Pag. 10.* was driven out of *Sweden* by *Gustavus Ericson*; but alas! you

you say, they soon found their Mistake, which I think, was not the worse.

Then the late ingenious Authors Story of *Denmark*, is brought upon the Stage, which is more to the purpose than any thing has been said; but if they are miserable, their over Credulity contributed to the Cheat: For as that Gentleman says, That King was willing to grant what their Modesty never requested. And why shou'd our King not be thought as fair a Prince? I am of Opinion we are not half so Modest.

Old *Oliver* must not rest in his Grave, tho' an Act of Grace has pardoned the Transgressors. I really think, that our withdrawing due Relief from King *Charles I.* brought those Miseries upon our Heads.

And now to pin the Basket for us; we Journey from our own Country, (and a good Journey it is we take;) 'tis only to the *West Indies*, for nothing, but to prove, That provoked Servants will be revenged upon insolent Masters, when they have opportunity, which is no great Matter.

Had his History not ended here, he wou'd have told us, what Robberies have been committed on the King's High Ways by the Soldiery; but that I think wou'd not have served his purpose; for then it wou'd have been returned upon him, that he must be more exposed: for some of them (if Disbanded) are not able to Dig, and to Beg they are ashamed; so he wisely lets it alone.

But since our Author is silent, I will crave leave to handle this Matter a little, and let us consider what we shall do for them. Is the Danger they have undergone to be forgotten? Remember Sir, it was our Countries Cause. No, rather than that shall be suffered, I will pour some Oil into your Wounds, or at least afford you a Noble Pity.

Gentlemen,

Gentlemen, those Common-wealths your Adversary so much approves of for their good Laws, he owns, had always a good regard to Merit : but he has done with you, and is not so much as for giving you Thanks, or making any Provision for you. Holy Writ tells us, That of Ten Cripples which were healed, there was but one of them grateful to his great Benefactor ; and as he is Recorded for his Goodness, so is his Country taken notice of, for he was a *Samaritan* : and that good *Samaritan* I will be, in owning, That by your Valour and Courage, you have made other Countries the Scene of War, and left us to possess our Estates in ease and freedom.

And since he has left Part of the *Roman* History untold, I will tell you, That *Caius Marius* had never been chosen seven times Consul of *Rome*, had not his Wounds pleaded his Cause. The meanness of his Birth was twisted in his teeth, by such who opposed him, and were of Noble Parentage. But these wise *Romans* observed what *Cato* told a decayed Nobleman (who had upbraided his Parentage,) That he had rather be the first of a Family than the last. Here Merit, and not Birth, got the Ascendant : so true a value they set on Noble Performances.

But to go on with my Author, and to shew, that he has read more History than he has quoted ; he owns, ' That ' *Holland* and *Venice* had met with no Oppressions ; and ' tho' they keep large Armies, they have not lost their Liberties. I thank you Sir, for this Favour.

Pag. 11. He goes on to tell us his Reason for it ; That *Venice* cannot be Attack'd but by the Sea. And here he might have instanced in the late Action at *Scio* ; The *Venetians* we know, after they had taken it, lost it again suddenly to the *Turks*. Now, had there been a sufficient number of Regulated Forces in it, those with the Fleet, might have done admirable Service.

'Tis

'Tis not my design to reflect on a Fleet ; I honour them ever since I read the History of the *Spanish* Invasion in 1588. under the Conduct of Sir *Francis Drake* ; and that Action sufficiently proves the usefulness of them, and serves to fill up the Annals of that Glorious Reign : No ! all my Design is to prove, that some few Regulated Forces cannot hurt us ; and I should have been loath to have heard, that Expedition-Wind shou'd have proved in our Teeth, because her *Militia* might not have met with that Success ; and then the case had prov'd too late the necessity of Regulated Troops. I hope *Neptune* will always extend his *Trident* in our Favour, and an *English* Parliament take care of Land Forces.

Then he goes on to tell us, *how Fortunate the Dutch are, and that Art and Nature have done their Parts ; and that the Strength of their Towns, and shutting up of their Gates, can prevent any dangerous Design.* Pray have we not Towns of Strength as well as they ? Let *Portsmouth* and *Hull* tell him so ! And till we have a visible Cause, let us not be so over cautious as to fear, our late Prince is now out of doors ; and to mistrust the *English* Prowess, we have no cause.

What is it then he fears ? I wish I knew, that I might tell you. He seems to acquit the King of any ill Design, (and if he had not, others would have done it for him ;) Why then, I find it must be those that come after that he is afraid of. I see, that whilst he tells us, The King is mortal, he thinks not of Mortality himself ; or would be more thoughtful of what becomes of his Posterity, than others, who think it as dear to them. *Liberty* and *Property* are my Darlings ; and if I thought them in danger, I assure him, that I would be as strenuous an Asserter of them as any *English* Man whatsoever. It was my Zeal for the Publick Good, made me rejoice at this Princes Arrival,

Arrival, and I clos'd in with the Government when others stood at Bay, to see what might happen. On this account, I thought I might have a good pretence to Defend it; and I knew no time better than now, when I find that so great Merit is like to be Rewarded, only in making so great a Prince a King of Clouts.

Pag. 11. But for all this, our Author remains still in his Fears, lest the King should be *perpetual General*. He who has such Precaution, sure takes great care not to put out his Money in ill Hands; for he who mistrusts Mankind in general, can never be pleas'd with any Security.

Ibid. But now he owns, That the Family of the *Medices* and *Lewis XI.* laid a *Foundation of Tyranny without the Assistance of an Army*; and this makes me bound to tell him again, that *Englishmen* have *English* Hearts, and *British* Honesty: so that, if any *Prince* should hereafter (for I agree with you, that this will not :) endeavour to Enslave us, a competent number of them in a Regulated Army, will certainly prevent any such a treacherous Design.

On the whole therefore, it is plain, That Liberty and a Standing Army are not such incoherent things; but rather prove a necessity on us, to bridle the Ambition of any future Aspiring Monarch.

I think by this time you will own, they are necessary, if any Person comes who has nothing to do here; their Valour proves my Assertion. And the Great *Cæsar* in his Commentaries, gives us occasion to think well of our selves, when so many *Roman* Colonies could not prevent our shewing our Resentments.

Pag. 12. But now you must make a step along with our Author from the *West Indies* to *China*, and 'tis on as frivolous an occasion as was that of his *French* Colony; for 'tis only to prove the Misery of Tyranny, as that shew'd the
the

the great Folly of casting away a necessary Defence.

Our Author next makes a long List, of what Countries are free, and what are not; of which, he ascribes the Liberty of the one, and the Slavery of the other, to their having or wanting Standing Armies. It would be tedious to examin by piecemeal, all that he lumps in this Paragraph: *Portugal* and *Tuscany* have no Standing Armies, nor is *Portugal* an Enslaved Country. The *Venetians*, all but the Nobility, live in more abandoned Slavery than the *Chineses*. I don't know what he means by the Seat of the Government, unless he means *Amsterdam* and *Venice*: otherwise it is well known, that both the *Venetians* and *Hollanders* keep Regular Forces within their Dominions. The Liberty of *Poland* is so little to be boasted of, that these last 18 Months Experience shews, what Convulsions every King's Death may probably make, even almost to the Unhinging of the Government; and no Generation can be morally sure of living Six Months without a Civil War.

But now he comes on to tell us, 'That sometime or Pag. 12.
'other all Countries lye under an unhappy necessity of
'Defending themselves by Arms; but he says, It is when
'Princes Rule with a Rod of Iron. I see, his present
Happiness cannot eclipse his Fears. I hope his extream
Caution proceeds from a Fear of the late King's coming
again, and then I can excuse him; but 'till then, why
shou'd his Melancholy discompose others, because it dis-
orders him?

At the same time that he owns, *that that Nation is
safest in Peace, that carry their Swords by their sides, because
they have least occasion to use them*, he cannot be thankful
for that Blessing.

Consider, Sir, an old saying, *No Penny, no Pater Noster*,
when Army's appear dangerous, let the Parliament with-
draw

draw their Purfes and we are safe, but if he still urges *that they will plunder and take care for themselves*, let them if they are *English* Men attempt it, and at the loss of their Lives they will pay for the Project, and then Sir I will be of your side: But he brings the Bravery of our Nation in question when he says, *he doubts our tamely suffering it*: Remember the late King's Fate, if you will not, those that come after and follow his steps have a fair warning.

Pag. 13. 'But still he has not banisht his fears, *The Militia he says are not useful* tho' he thinks them useful enough to defend the King. This Sir I cannot thank you for.

'From one Error he falls into more: He now fears *that they will be Capable to Influence Elections*; this is very strange indeed, did he never hear what the late King got by closetting? and can Inferiour persons if they have ill designs meet with better success than a King in Power? Pray Sir how many Officers on Honour quitted Honourable Posts when they saw what he drove at, and they ought to be taken notice of for their Bravery, such again wou'd be quickly found on the like occasion, and such being backt with right on their sides, wou'd with the assistance of the Freeholders and Commoners shew how much they value property, by routing a Body of such *Ragamuffins* as you Term a *standing Army*.

'But when we have chosen our Representatives he fears *that they will encompass the Parliament Houses*; but if his hopes were equal to his fears, he wou'd be told from good Authority, *That perfect Love casteth out Fear*; and, *That Fear hath Torment*.

'The Misery of Arms in the Hands of Slaves, he says, 'makes the Government of the *Turks* uneasy: and yet he prescribes our Servants, *To bear our Arms, for our Safety*. This is going about by the Wood, when a Foot-Path will lead your nearer to the Church. But

But we have not yet done with his Fears, 'The Advantage the King has, in giving so many Offices, sticks in his Stomach; in which he is so modest, as not to exempt from the Lash such as are of his Household, his Revenue, State, Law, Religion, or Navy; and these must of course stick to the Men that are for Arbitrary Power; and these will bring unhappy Quarrels among our selves, and put us upon a chargeable War, with a vast Expence of Blood and Treasure: and for this Reason, he tells us, That we must arm our selves against the Court. I confess he names not the King, but I thought he was part of the Court; and then the Author said it, and not my self; for he tacitly accuses all the Estates of Parliament, for saying, 'That we are more beholden to Fortune, than our own Efforts, that this has not already happened.

Page 14.

Then he brings in an Instance of King Charles the First, *That if he had had 5000 Men before-hand with us, our Liberties had been gone without striking a Stroke.* Here he arraigns the Justice of the Nation, who solemnized the Day of his Martyrdom by Act of Parliament; which had they deem'd him a Tyrant in his Temper, 'tis not to be thought he wou'd have had that Favour: his Exit was Bloody, but 'tis more unnatural to Revile the Memory of the Dead.

As for what you say of the late King, no body at this time will stand up to assert his Actions; but in what you say of him, I differ from you: *For I cannot think that Army wou'd have brought in Arbitrary Power, had not Popery been intended:* for which you had my Reasons before. But we are not now debating King James's Affairs; he knows better why he withdrew, than I can tell you.

But again, Old Noll is brought upon the Stage, *with the Story of 17000 Men, which he left in Arms at his Death.*

Pray did these Men hinder the Loyal Party from bringing back their Lawful Sovereign, No! they were so far from that, that they contributed to his Restauration. As for the Duke of *Monmouth's* Expedition, it seems to have been at first a Trick of State, in which you are silent, he was perhaps the Darling of the People: but you know his Success, and may have read, that the *Amorites* were not destroyed, 'till their Sins were ripe for Punishment.

'As for *Cesar's* *Pharſalian* Battel, with 22000 Men; he had Success wherever he went; and is thought by many to merit what he got. But now the *Roman* and *Ottoman* Empires run in your Head; and what was done there, is a Consequence of what may be done here: a pretty sort of Argument, as if our Constitutions were the same.

I have been told, that the Trifling Ceremony of *Striking a Flag*, was one Pretence of breaking the late Peace: and according to your own Rule, *What was done yesterday, may again come to pass*. The same Prince is now on the Throne, as well as two Pretenders to ours, in his *Territories*; and he is so little of our Author's Opinion, that he purposes to keep a considerable Land-Army: Are their Swords to grow rusty? or are they all to go into *Poland*? You give an Invader great Encouragement to come hither, when you tell him, *That little numbers may effect an Ambitious Design*.

But I can tell you this, (of which you seem ignorant) that an Ignominious Breach of the present Peace, wou'd convince the Aggressor, That an *English man* can resent Affronts; and Fight well, when he likes the Cause. And when the Torrent of Arbitrary Power seem'd at any time floating in a Prince's Head, his Subjects have soon taken that Occasion to make his Reign uneasy. But you are of a contrary Opinion, and are commonly ready with a *Doubt*, or a *May be*: you doubt, *If the King has an Army,*
it

it must ruin us. You forget they are *English-men*, and repeat your Fears oftner than some do their Prayers.

But you are so fair as to own, ' That those who are for
' a Standing Army, would not have it made part of the Pa. 15.
' Constitution, but be kept only 'till *Europe* is in better
' Circumstances. But at this you have also a fling.

You fear, *it will last the Life of K. James*; and then start a Doubt, which perhaps we had not heard of; *That Prince Prettiman may be in the flower of his Age, and in full vigour; and is more to be feared, than an unhappy Man sinking under the Load of Age and Misfortune.* And I can find, that on particular Occasions, you can afford one Prince more Pity than another. 'Tis much you shou'd own the *French King exhausted*; and think, *That so soon as he has fetcht Breath, it may be dangerous.* Remember Sir, he has engaged the contrary. But yet I dare lay a strong Wager, that if he furnished the *Welsh* Gentlemen with a strong Army, he wou'd help him to as much Ground in *England*, as he took up when he was Born. Why then you will reply, *What need is there of an Army?* I will tell you, that most Men wou'd think it strange that came to see our Country, to find that we mistrusted that our Prince wou'd turn Tyrant, and therefore we kept the power in our own hands, A Suspicion that never entred into the breasts of those Princes, whose Armies he had lead, but ' alas this Gentleman only argues for argument sake. He fears, *when France grows stronger, their number must be doubled.* Pray Sir reflect not on that Prince, for there may be Pa. 16.
reflections in prose as well as Verse, you add, their discontents may continue them; pray what makes Armies discontented but want of Pay? and that is left to the direction of such as we see fit to choose our selves, and if here the hinge moves not right, those who put them in power are in the wrong.

But

‘ But he continues Angry still : He says that Charles the Second
 ‘ being conniv’d at for keeping a few Guards (and grudges even his
 ‘ Pensioners and Beef-eaters) the event was, that he left an Ar-
 ‘ my to his Successor capable to make him bluster to his Parliament
 ‘ that he wou’d be no longer bound to the Laws he had sworn too ; but
 ‘ as he goes on he tells us, that a Complication of Causes made it
 ‘ fall out otherwise ; and forgetting his former sentence turns upon
 ‘ himself, and says, That what happened then , may never happen
 ‘ again.

‘ But tho’ he Confesses we have escaped this Precipice, he fears
 ‘ habit has made Soldiers too familiar to us, and to go on with you,
 ‘ I must own that it wou’d be hard to have His Majesty refused as
 ‘ many Men as his Predecessors. And to urge it as a violation
 of our laws is not so fair, my reason for it, is this, That Con-
 comitant Causes (such as this) of having pretenders to the
 Crown, may make what might otherwise seem a hardship, now
 become absolutely necessary.

In a word, it is strange that an Author who writes so Gentle-
 man like shou’d at the same time refuse Convenient succours,
 when he sees how absolutely necessary it is for the preservation
 of a Kings life on whom so much depends.

‘ But he says, the raising of these Forces was a violation of our
 ‘ Laws and that his Government is built on the destruction of theirs.
 I like not the Simile he gives that it cannot stand, I am satisfied
 here is no probable Cause of suspicion and yet a very urgent ne-
 cessity: You urge that the Conspirators say, we need be in no danger
 of Slavery whilst we keep the Power of the Purse in our own hands,
 in which also I agree with you.

But in his next notion we part again, for he tells us in Latin to
 this effect, that an Army will as certainly raise Money, as they will
 intrench upon our priviledges; or a little nearer to my Authors sence, he
 who has power will obtain by force what Right denies. ’Tis hard to
 make the Irregularities of some Armies an Instance to all ; but
 alas it is his precaution, and we must excuse a good Intention.

As soon as he has done with his fears, I will have done with
 ‘ them too, he fears the shutting up of the Exchequer; which he says
 ‘ is only disobliging a few Tally Jobbers, and 3 Millions according
 to his Arithmetick will be sav’d by it. This fear was in order to
 increase a number of well affected persons to listen to a Patriot:
 but to show you that his fears have in them a formal probability
 he

he repaires to the Reign of *Charles the Second*, but the case is not a Parallel.

From hence he proceeds to his Sentiments of the *Exchequer Officers at this time*, and tells us, *that the Annuity-People are those who Rely on His Majesties Virtue, and not the Justice of the Exchequer Officers.* And is His Majesties virtue so eminent and cannot we think it to be convenient to preserve his Person? No better way can be propos'd than a few Regulated Forces, and these receiving their Pay from the Bounty of the Commons, can have it withdrawn when reasonable, and they then must sink of course.

But having had his fling at the *Exchequer Officers*, who know best how to defend themselves, he says, *that we ought not to hazard such virtue by leading it into Temptation, which he says, is our Duty to pray against.* And he thinks it an *Age of Miracles* if they be not Seduced; for our *Heroes*, (he says) are of a coarse *Al-lay* and have too much dross mixt with their Constitutions for such refin'd Principles. In this say I, *qui capit ille facit.*

Now the Fit comes on him apace again, he says, *that in the little Experience he has had in the World, he has observ'd most Men to do as much mischief as lay in their power; this is a general drawing upon Mankind and this (if nothing else) shou'd keep him in Cognito.*

But if he had proved his Assertion, I own what follows to be a Natural Consequence, *That we ought not to trust our Weapons with Children or Mad Men;* and for this reason his Instance of the Address of the Sheep to *Apollo in Boccacine*, is very proper, *That they desired for the future that the Wolves might have no Teeth.* But in this, Sir, as you show your Teeth, let them be Angry whom you Bite.

Then he puts an Argument into our Heads; *that 'tis Tyrant necessity, and that France is great; and therefore an Army we must have and cannot be without it, and that if we must be slaves; a Protestant Prince is better than a Popish one, especially the Fr-- King.* I shou'd never have put this question, because I cannot be so ill Natur'd as to have any such Melancholy apprehensions; you own Sir that the Seas may Guard us, 'tis a Power I honour: but of old the Jews were amazed to see a Man who at a word cou'd Command the Winds and the Seas to obey him. And if we cannot be as certain of their assistance as we are of their Cou-

rage, a Critical Minute may happen ; and then what Comfort will it be to cry, *this was an unfortunate accident, who wou'd have thought it.* On such an occasion I cou'd borrow your Melancholy (for you have enough to spare) and in that humour reflect upon the great misfortune ; but where wou'd be my Comfort to say, *this was a complication of Causes that may never happen again:* for if we have no standing Forces what can be done on a sudden to oppose this Force of an Invader? for I will grant with you, *that we might know of his coming,* but also I must allow the Managers of such an Expedition wou'd not lose a prosperous Gale, away he comes, and then I increase my fears for want of Forces.

'Tis not so Ridiculous a thing as you make it, to have us entertain the thoughts, that we may be invaded? Pray was not the *Spanish Armado* upon our Coasts before we expected it; and yet 'tis not unlikely but we knew of the preparation, had the Fleet fail'd our *Militia* powers had been try'd. As *English Men*, I shou'd not have doubted their Courage, but shou'd have suspected their discipline, and Regularity in Fighting is a great advantage.

But as I gave you some instances of the advantage Invaders have had, where a Competent Number of standing Forces have not been ready to oppose them: So I cou'd raise Arguments from Examples that they have been of Excellent use, and not dangerous in our own Kingdom ; but for Brevity sake I omit to name them, unless you please to assert the Contrary.

I find our Constitutions differ strangely, when you are most secure, then I am in fear ; for whilst you extol our security in a Fleet, I am afraid of a Contrary Wind. I doubt not of our *Marine Bravery* but dread their misfortune ; still I am afraid lest *Boreas* should blow in their Teeth, such things have been heard of, and you know *what has been may be.* This is a fair proposition you must own, and what shall we do in this Case my Masters? why, you will say we may have the liberty to go to a *Politick Coffee-House*, and say *who wou'd have thought it.* I cou'd also urge, that we may have divisions among our selves which will do us no kindness ; and what advantage we may reap by such a misfortune, you may guess when you call to mind the old Proverb *Divide and Reign* ; and sure by this time you will say I have prov'd that a modest number makes us secure ; and whilst if they Land our Army Fights them, the Wind may chop about, and make our Fleet do us Service to prevent their Flight.

But

But you say, *That no Wind can deprive us of Intelligence from France*: and pursuing your Humour, you say, *There have been Errors in the Management of the Fleet*. 'Tis well the Land-Army has one to help to bear their Burden: this is the first Broadside you have given the Fleet.

As you manage your Affairs, you leave no body to take your part: for having laid the Land Army and Fleet on their backs, then the *wretched States-men* are put in, to leaven and sower the whole Lump.

Then, *The Officers of the Fleet may be Corrupted*: and pray Pag. 20
Sir, then why shou'd we not be, as *Hudibras* has it, with Two Strings to our Bow? Who angles, without a Reserve of Hooks in his Pocket? Who goes to the Tavern, to Drink but once? Who would make but One Parliament-Man, if he cou'd have Two? and in more than these things, this Rule does hold: And why then shou'd we not have Land, as well as Sea Forces: for as you observe, Nothing but a *Concomitancy of Causes*, can ever make them both betray us.

By the way, Sir, I doubt not of either; but you *doubt them both*: yet admitting one to be false, the other may do us service; one God, and one King, is sufficient: but Land and Sea Forces are best in conjunction.

But now you speak what pleases me much, *That a Well-train'd Militia may do us Service*. I wish you had acquainted us, in how long time they might have been made serviceable; for I shou'd perhaps be apt to lay it at a longer time than you. Must the Army be forthwith Disbanded, and the King have no body but his Pensioners and his Beef-Eaters to look after him? 'Tis an odd way of Rewarding Merit, and will sound but meanly in Foreign Countries. *ibid.*

But you go on with a Method I never heard of, *viz. Cudgelling a Man into a Hero*: nor is it usual to call those Men *Ragamuffins*, and *Henroost-Robbers*, whose Employments it is to fight for their Country, and who have so successfully fought for it. But I am in no Post of that quality, and so you do not in this Clause level at me.

But to Sugar-over his sower Grapes, which have set my Teeth on Edge; he entertains us with an *Account of the detestable Policies of the late Reigns*, *That they us'd their utmost Art and Application, to Disarm the People, and make the Militia useles to*

countenance a Standing Army, in order to bring in Popery and Slavery; and much more, to the same Tune. And then he discovers a strange Secret, viz. That such Officers as were more zealous in Exercising their Companies than others, were Reprimanded, as if they design'd to raise a Rebellion. I am apt to think, the Story may be true; and if I met my Author, I wou'd be out of his Debt, in telling him a Story much of the same nature; That Fowling-Pieces were thought dangerous Weapons, in the Hands of such as were for the Bill of Exclusion, or against Arbitrary Power. But now to the Matter in hand.

And now you are come to your *Why not?* which I shall set in their Files, and Muster them, 'as well as I am capable. Your first
 Pag. 21. Project is, *To have Cross-Bows turn'd into Fire-Locks, and a competent number of them to be kept in every Parish, for the Young Men to Exercise with on Holidays; and Rewards offered to the most Expert, to stir up their Emulation. For this Project the Apprentices will thank you, more than their Masters. Nor is this all, the Inconvenience; the Play-Houses and Cheesecake-Towns would be much disappointed.*

There is also another unlucky Objection behind, which is, That it might be conniv'd at on Sundays; and then you must reprint the Book of Sports, which did a certain King no great Credit. I fear also, that the Parsons would catch Cold in their Pulpits, for want of the Breath of a good Audience.

Then, *Item Secondly, You are for reducing the whole Militia of England, to 60000 Men; and the third part of them to be kept to constant Exercise. But be sure you first make them so useful, as that proper Judges may find no Objection.*

But your next *Why not?* I cannot endure, it is meer Stuff; you say, *Why may not a Man be Listed in the Militia, 'till he be discharged by his Master?* I will not dispute, what such a Favour wou'd cost: but I believe, few Men carry so much Money about them as will do the Business. Nay more, what occasion has a Master to discharge his Servant? he told him at first, what he must trust to, and so let him compound as well as he can. And by this time sure you will grant, that it is not so easy, as to be *Discharg'd by his Captain.* But you put harder on us still, in *Proposing to have the same Horse forth-coming, unless it can be made appear, that he is either Dead or Maimed.* And who must be this *Affidavit Man?* why who shou'd, but the Man of Property; what has he to do at home?

More

More Reasons I cou'd urge on this Head: but lest you think this a Sham, I will tell you, he who sends to Horse or Foot, must be obliged on the Penalty of a great Fine, to appear according to his Qualification. If when I have used my endeavour, and found out a Man, I shall be much more plagu'd for my Horse; I must either keep him for sudden Service, or he is useless: he must not serve my Coach nor Cart, for then the Mark of his Traces will be a Grievance: and if I keep him too Fat, my Rider cannot Manage him. Hard Terms are these, to Men of Property.

We had better not have so mean a Character of our King, since there is such a difficulty in the manner of furbishing our Armes. Our Pistols may lye damp and so make a false Fire, and then a Surgeon comes upon you for the Cure; A Man sure wou'd not be fond of his Post, when he heard my last Man was slain in hot Service, with the accumulated misfortune of leaving behind him a sorrowful Wife and Infant Children.

But to your next *why not you say private Soldiers in the Army when they are dispersed in the several parts of the Kingdom may be sent to the Militia, and the Inferiour Officers in the Army may in some Proportion Command them.*

I suppose Sir the Gentry of the Country are Loyal, but this is a very Chargable post you fix them in, for they must Treat as well as Teach their Soldiers, and you have assigned them no Salary. No matter you will say, they are Gentlemen of plentiful Fortunes, but I must remark this, that the Farmers Wives were sate against you before, and now you have made Ladies of Quality not fond of your project. Remember Sir a multitude is an ungovernable thing, but it was your own act and deed, or else you ought for fear of Censure to clear your self; for you propose *they will fight* and I must add another supposal to yours, *viz. they may be Slain*, and then you must pray to God to keep your Eyesight.

But after these Objections, cou'd your Project come to any effect, they wou'd be as chargeable as a Standing Army.

Your Instances of *Fersey, Guernsey, Poland, and Switzerland*, nay and your beloved Country of the *Grisons*, are wide of the Mark, and hit not your Purpose.

What the *London Apprentices* did, is also an Argument against your self; for there was *Major-General Property* led them on, and Raw Men quickly beat a Regulated Army. Consider that! the Matter swells upon my Hand. This which I have said, is an

Answer likewise to the *Vandois*, *Miquelets*, and *Irish Militia*.

You are the first Man that ever doubted of the King's opposing Military Art, by appearing at the Head of an Army of Young Nobility and Gentry. Your Argument also, That the Officers durst not
 Pag. 22. trust the English Militia too near the Duke of Monmouth, is a Proof, That as his Pretences were plausible; so Popery began to make them fear the sad Effects of Arbitrary Power.

The Answer you make to an Objection, That the Militia cannot be serviceable, is insufficient: but that perhaps you will by this time confess.

The Reasons you advance, against keeping an Army 'till the Militia are Disciplin'd, is short of the Purpose; and none but a Man full of Fears, wou'd have urged That other Persons cannot Exercise the Militia with Encouragement, Whilst there is a Standing Army; and that the same Rule will hold Seven Years hence: you say, a small Army is enough to oppress the People, and too few to defend our selves. I cou'd sometimes hope you were not our Country-man, because you very seldom speak in our Favour. Your Champion *Machiavel* does you much Service, and his *Borgia* is an Honour to your Cause.

I find, when a Man is sinking, he takes hold of any thing: but
 Pag. 23. your Citations out of my Lord *Bacon*, Mr. *Harrington*, and a late French Author, are very little to the Purpose. But yet Sir I must do you the Justice to say, that you have handled an unreasonable Argument very well. And I hope with you, That

Pag. 24. he who Plumes his Feathers beyond a Common Bound, may Mew them soon after. I wonder much, that you who abhor Numbers, shou'd Muster so many Authors.

I am glad to hear you own, That you think the Artillery of the World is chang'd, since some of these Men wrote; and more Experience goes to the making of a good Soldier, than there did formerly: and yet presently after you say, It can be acquired in few Weeks; and that the Modern Exercise is more easy than the Antient. Then you shift up and down, and say, That a Man may learn it in his Closet, as well as in the Field.

Pag. 25. You say, That Engineers can be made, without the Formality of Standing Forces: a pretty odd Notion.

You say, Actual Experience in War, is not essential at all to a Standing Army: and yet you presently own, that This Army has Know-

Knowledge. And who I pray wou'd be at the Charge of sending to School, who has an Army ready form'd to his Hands, an Army that knows Discipline; and who, as *English-Men*, cannot be fear'd.

But an Army will not go down with you; you say, it is not *necessary*: and for your Instance of *York* and *Lancaster*, as I told you before, so I must tell you again, That it was owing to their not keeping up a *Moderate Force*, which occasioned so many *Bloody Fields*.

But the *Spaniard* has put you out of Humor: What makes that Monarchy now seem to have seen its best Days, but want of Force?

Then you tell us plainly, *That the French are our Enemies.* Pag. 26.
A Passage which is pretty bold, I confess, for the *Simile* will not justify it. Queen *Elizabeth* her Speech to the Duke of *Alanson*, is to the Purpose: for the King has as intire an Ascendant on the People; and this does proceed from a well-grounded Confidence. He aims not at such an Army as may be able to ruin us, but such an one as may defend us on occasion; and you know, *Property* is the Word, and ours a *Mixt Monarchy*. So that on the whole you may find, That the King keeps not his Army to Awe his Subjects, but to Correct Invaders, who may pretend to his Crown; and on that occasion may be quarrelsome.

Here follow a parcel of Insinuating Questions; which relating to the Parliament, I shall not presume to handle. All I have to say to your *Is it not so, and so?* it seems to be written on purpose to prevent an Answer.

But your next Assertion I may speak to, and the rather, because you say it is your last: viz. *That the best way of Restoring King James, is by Maintaining a Standing Army to keep him out.* Pag. 27.
You lay down your Reason for it, to this Effect, *That the Peoples Affection is the King's Safety, which nothing but a Design to overthrow our Liberties can destroy; and that a Standing Army depends upon the fickle Humour of the Soldiery: you quote The dismal Effects in all Ages, in Unarmed Governments: The dis- obliging two or three Officers and a Jacobite Mistress, or the King of France Buying Pensioners in the Court and Army; with such a Bead-roll of Suppositions, that the Book proves it self to be a Design. But these Innuendo's will affect none but light People.*

Then

Then you fear a *Rehearsal Revolution*, and yet strive to bring it about by making him a *King of Brentford*, and so out of the Cloud of your fears bring in your old King *James* (not the late King.) by the power of the King of *France* (not the *French* King) he was called so in our Articles of Peace, but that being a sort of Introductory Preliminary, you might Slip it over in haste.

Pag. 29. As your Boook ends your Modesty begins, you say *That what you have offered against standing Armies is only where they are Instruments of Tyranny*, and say that what you propos'd is not to touch on our own, which was raised by consent. If those you have reflected upon can forgive you, I shall, because I love an Ingenious manager of a Bad Argument, and conclude that you wou'd write much better upon what wou'd bear the Test.

Pag. 30. At last to make Friends, you propose a *Donative*, but lament at the same time our turning to grass a mighty Monarch for breaking the Laws: Your 8 years War you grudge, tho' you reap the benefit, as well as 40 Millions of Money spent, and you will never consent to it: set still then and see what Men intrusted by their Country will do, and let you and I rest contented.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Paper called an *Argument against a standing Army*, had made some Noise in the World before it came to my hands, and the quick dispatch I was forced to use, to have it come out in time, may be the occasion of some mistakes in the Print, which cou'd not well be prevented, and other things might have been added, but for haste, and leaves the Candid Reader to make a favourable Interpretation.

ERRATA.

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